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000

THE TERENA AND THE CADUVEO OF SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

by

KALERVO OBERG

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[Title Page]

[p. i]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., May 6, 1948

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil," by Kalervo Oberg, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 9 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director*.

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

CONTENTS

PAGE
Introduction 1
The Terena 5
  Terena economy in the Chaco 6
    Habitat 6
    Shelter 8
    Clothing and ornaments 9
    Collecting, hunting, and fishing 9
    Agriculture 10
    Domestic animals and birds 12
    Manufactures 12
    Raiding 13
    Property and inheritance 13
    Organization of labor 13
  Present-day economy of the Terena 13
    General description 13
      Sources of income in a typical village 15
    Life histories 17
      An employee of the Indian Post 17
      Farmer 18
      Silversmith 18
      Shopkeeper 18
      Carter 19
      Basket maker 19
      Stockkeeper 19
      Shoemaker 20
      Mason 20
    The village of Bananal 20
    Clothing and ornaments 23
    Agriculture 23
    The daily round 26
  Social organization 27
    Moieties 27
    Social classes 28
    Law 29
    Kinship terminology 30
    Recent changes 33
    Summary 37

The Terena—Continued
PAGE
  The life cycle 38
    Birth (*ipuhicoti-hiuhá*) 38
    Puberty 39
    Marriage (*hoyenóti*) 39
    Burial 40
    Modern changes 41
  Religion 41
    Religious beliefs 41
    Shamanism 43
    Present-day religion 45
  Secular entertainment 47
    Dances and games 47
    Football 51
    Horse racing 51
The Caduveo 52
  The Mbayá in the eighteenth century 52
    Social organization 52
    Economic life 54
    Life cycle 54
    Shamanism 55
  The Caduveo today 58
    Economy 59
    Kinship terminology 60
    Life cycle 62
    Myths 63
    Religion 63
    Dances and games 64
  Caduveo pottery 65
    Pottery forms 66
    Manufacture 66
    Ceramic decoration 67
Bibliography 69
Index 71

600

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(All plates at end of book)

(*Terena*)

1. Views of Bananal village.
2. Churches.
3. Schools.
4. House types.
5. Economic life.
6. Terena physical types.
7. Terena physical types.
8. Dancer and shaman.
9. Dancers.
10. The old and the new religion.
11. Sports.

(*Caduveo*)

12. Scenes on Paraguay River.
13. Mode of travel and Caduveo chief.
14. Physical types.
15. Jugs and pitchers.
16. Bird-shaped jugs and jar.
17. Cups and bowls.
18. Jars.
19. Pitcher and jug.
20. Jugs.
21. Decorated calfskins.
22. Caduveo designs.
23. Caduveo designs.
24. Caduveo designs.

MAPS

PAGE
1. South America, showing area of study.......... vi
2. Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing the location of Terena and Caduveo villages.......... 7
3. The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).......... 21
4. The village of Alves de Barros.......... 57

CHARTS

1. Terena kinship terms.......... 31
2. Caduveo kinship terms.......... 61

[p. iv]

[p. v contains no textual material]

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131

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75
60
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VENEZUELA
GUIANAS
COLOMBIA
EQUADOR
BRASIL
PERÚ
BOLÍVIA
PARAGUAI
RIO DE JANEIRO
SANTOS
URUGUAI
ARGENTINA
CHILE

MAP 1.—South America, showing area of study.

[P. vi]

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far. 121

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re- 127 128

[P. 1-A]

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By **Kalervo Oberg**

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been 127
translated into English, the writer being responsible 128
for the translations. Admittedly, the early
phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries,
are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach
back with certainty for only the life span of a
mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, 101
the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking 175
Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco 648
from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written
records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking [181]
peoples in the Amazon Basin, the
Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly
agricultural people. In the Chaco the
Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking
Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part.
The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely
warlike. In time, the interaction between
the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship
based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs
and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of
goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná
for military protection provided by the Mbayá.
In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained
a position of ascendancy owing to their
military superiority. This seems to have been the
existing situation when the Spaniards made contact
with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle
of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of 101
the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the 175
account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they [131]
were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

[P.1-B]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were G 175
in this general area when first discovered by the 101
Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of [131]
the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic,
Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao G
(Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239-240). Estimates 175
of the total Guaná population vary. At the end 161
of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave
the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá M
also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home 131
but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a
wider territory stretching all the way from the
present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now M
stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering 161
between 7,000 and 8,000. During this M
period the Mbayá were composed of the following 101
subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí,
Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí,
Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol.
1, pp. 217-218). M

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions G
of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence
a relationship of lord and serf after the 105
European pattern. This view on the basis of their 114
own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing 566
system of social stratification based on
cultural differences usually implies some degree
of political unity and marked distinctions in status G
and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved M
political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise 105
organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. 621
To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a
"band" basis. The Guaná always had their own 648
lands and villages, their own social organization 63
and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married
Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree
of equality between the chiefly classes of the
two peoples. G

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said M 648
to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just 105
how this political domination was achieved is not G
made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female
chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá [562]
chief gave him rights over his wife's people. [622]
There is some doubt that the Guaná had female
chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this.
Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female
chief's husband could usurp his wife's position
in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally
defined rule. When we learn that the

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the im- G
mediate relatives and following of the Guaná M
woman and could be exercised only by himself and 105
his close relatives, the purely political aspects of 648
the relationship are diminished. The suggestion
made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship
was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based
on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to cer-
tain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kin-
ship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held M
a superior position because of the prestige aris- [554]
ing from their military power. The Guaná, as a
whole, however, maintained their political and
economic autonomy.

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis M
on warfare had already led to the development 554
of rank based on war honors and the possession 565
of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a [567
distinction was made between those who received
this position through birth and those who re- 622
ceived it through favor. Between these two chiefly 727]
grades and the slaves were the great body of
hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing M
particularly strange in the fact that the warlike
Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a 847
functional relationship between the Mbayá desire 727
to capture women and children and the Mbayá 567
practice of infanticide. M

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide 834
has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo [847]
today explain these practices by saying that a
mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse
while nursing her child and rather than forego
sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her
husband a woman avoids having children. The
Caduveo go further and explain that they had,
in the past, to capture women and children in order
to maintain their numbers. One would expect
that powerful sanctions would be necessary to en-
force compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual
intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond
saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo
make no explicit mention of the consequences re-
sulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be
that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by
the economic circumstances which, among a no- G
madic hunting people, make numerous small chil- M
dren a burden upon their parents. The distinc- 174
tions of rank, the possession of war captives as
slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be- 648

[P. 2-B]

G M 174 648

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe.

M 177 648 231 554

M [727] [567]

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

G 231 177 554 648

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

M 648 175

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began

[P. 3-A]

M 648 175

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory.

M [101]
M [131]
M [162]

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government.

G 175 131
G [241]
G [161]
G [648]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . .

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. [131] Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding.

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. 175 361 Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. [648] Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return.

175 648 The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo.

[P. 4-A]

As we look over the history of the Terena and G Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and M Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these 105 two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: 174 First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in.

M 178 In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, 105 we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. M [648] Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose.

G 105 On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. M G [648] In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. G [161] The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point

[P. 4-B]

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648
[511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

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M
[123]
M
[144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[P. 5-A]

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: M 142 "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled M [147] and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. G 141 Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1] G

122 The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. [114] I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. G Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger [128] for her industry and patience in organizing and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

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[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174
by direct investigation the exact nature of the 241
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174
Yúrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agriculture: 241
539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *píritaa;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *palá'oi;* the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopáa.* *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was
not the same as in the rain forest. The long 241
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied 133 by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, 132 has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures.

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, 133 swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants [137] which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlisa decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the [136] home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish.

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), 824 Sánches Labrador says:

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the 136 west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds [223] feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds

[Text continues on P. 8-A]

[P. 6-B]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

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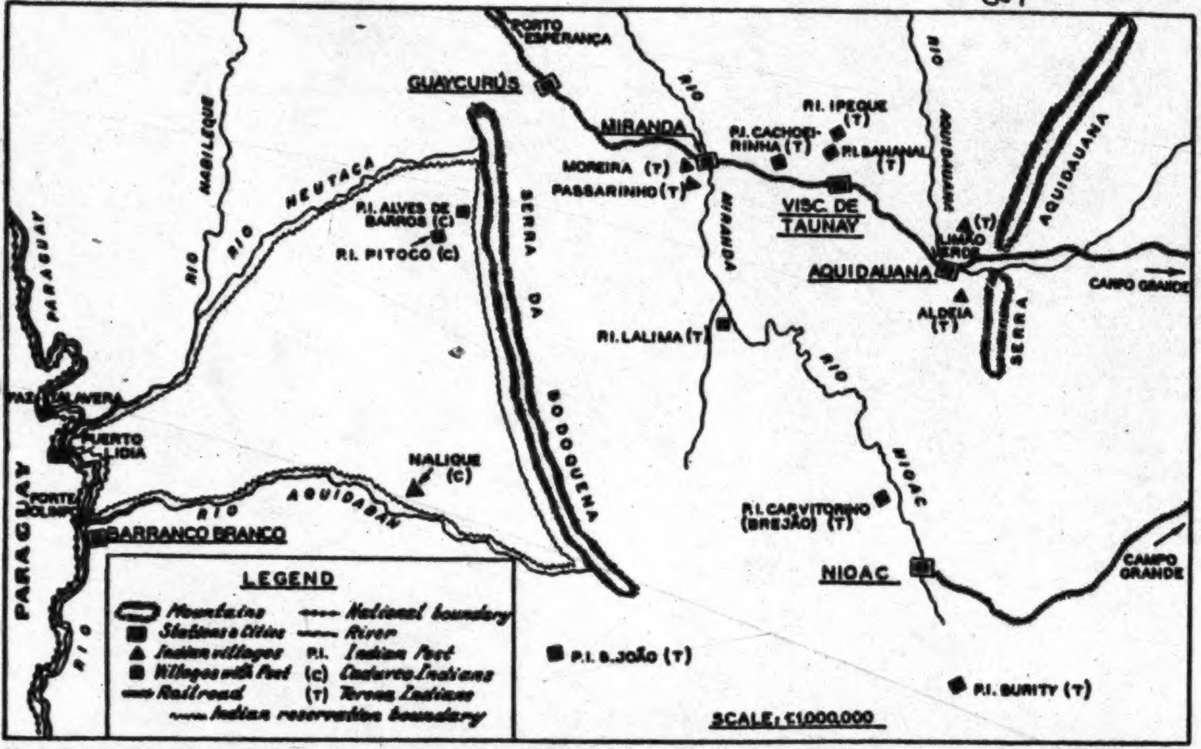
103
102
131
361
162
133

[P.7]


PORTO ESPERANÇA
GUAYCURÚS
MIRANDA
RIO
RIO MIRANDA
P.I. IPEQUE (T)
P.I. CACHOEIRINHA (T)
P.I. BANANAL (T)
MOREIRA (T)
PASSARINHO (T)
VISC. DE TAUNAY
RIO AQUIDAUANA
AQUIDAUANA
LIMÃO VERDE
(T)
ALDEIA (T)
SERRA
CAMPO GRANDE
RIO NABILEQUE
RIO HEUTACA
P.I. ALVES DE BARROS (C)
P.I. PITOCO (C)
SERRA DA BODOQUENA
RIO PARAGUAY
PARAGUAY
FAZ. TALAVERA
PUERTO LIDIA
FORTE OLIMPO
BARRANCO BRANCO
NALIQUE (C)
RIO AQUIDABAN
P.I. LALIMA (T)
RIO NIOAC
P.I. CARVITORINO (BREJÃO) (T)
NIOAC
CAMPO GRANDE
P.I. S. JOÃO (T)
P.I. BURITY (T)
SCALE: 1:1,000,000
LEGEND
Mountains
National boundary
Stations & Cities
River
Indian villages
P.I. Indian Post
Villages with Post
(C) Caduveo Indians
Railroad
(T) Terena Indians
Indian reservation boundary

MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, [illegible]; Cachoeirinha, [illegible]; Ipegue, [illegible]; Cap. Vitorino, [illegible]; Burity, 476 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, [illegible] (half of which are Terena); São João, [illegible] (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at [illegible]. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at [illegible]. (For P. I. Ipeque on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

[Chaco Period]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages 136
and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the [231]
art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has [825]
been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild
pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato
and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the [224]
thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the
same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four- [262]
footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit,
cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many
are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanches Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle 361
surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*.
Villages, which varied in size, were built near
sources of water and cultivable land. In the final
stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were [178]
not very permanent, as the Terena were on the [362]
move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs.

As the Terena no longer remember the type of 342
house which they used in the Chaco, we must
depend upon historical sources. Even historical [127]
sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná:

> The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275-276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910-17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

From this account it would appear that the Ara- 342
wak-speaking people in this area were no longer [178]
using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house
which is still used by many of the Arawak-speak-
ing people to the north. The covering used may
have been made from "piri," a species of bul- [824]
rush, which the Terena still use for making mats.
This type of house was easy to dismantle and move,
which may account for the probable abandonment
of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their
> kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in
> order that no one should get in each other's way. There
> is one door at each end and three on one side. When it [354]
> rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes.
> Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are
> no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod [252]
> on which they place their curiously worked pots. The
> food is cooked without any other spices than water. At [352]
> the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread [513]
> over the floor. It is astonishing that although these
> people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., [248]
> vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were 361
already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more
definite description of Terena houses from Castel-
nau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, 411
Castelnau* has this to say: 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points,
> clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an in-
> strument which resembles a bow but has two cords united
> by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are
> placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a [513]
> bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes,
> which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p.
> 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general de- 114
scription of Terena houses. The descriptions are 352
nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states 513
that the occupants of the house slept on the floor,
while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-cov-
ered platforms. The Terena say that they did not
use hammocks until recently and that they slept
on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or
reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, baskets, and netted bags. In their houses they also kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick, stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Materials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of animals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the rafters. 415 412 353

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a *shiripá*. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by men on war parties. During cold weather everyone wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In warm weather children went about unclothed. Both men and women used pentagon-shaped leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was combed back over the head and fastened with a cord. 291 302

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, *nakóti;* bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.* These decorations were made by stringing dried seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold were used. During ceremonials the Terena used diadems made from red feathers and short skirts made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers could be used only by chiefs and usually signified that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins. 301 292 [293] [237]

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the Terena, Castelnau says: 291 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paintings, Castelnau adds the following: 302

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with [301]

[P. 9-A]

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531]
soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

221
The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262]
March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

262
252
Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

226
221
For several weeks during May or June the Terena depended almost entirely on fish, the people moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

[Chaco Period]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During 226 [221] this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. [227] These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "trairas," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft [252] stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish [251] were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the 411 bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena [229] used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide 224 area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method [177] of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

[P. 10-A]

[Chaco Period]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224 jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. [223] Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756] know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262] ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252 The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241 because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789] ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133] which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and [312] even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361] the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

[P. 10-B]

[Chaco Period]

> beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When 241 they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send [361] a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. [132] Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407] plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

> [181] The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the [516] Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291-292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the chil- 241 dren, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

[Chaco Period]

months later, depending upon the type and the 243 conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252] before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273] pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize [251] were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244 Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262] was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244 up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252 had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412] pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244 a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on [252] hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262 staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Chaco Period]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to 245
have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps 177
obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The 249
Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems
to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The
Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to
the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; 241
beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*.
Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled [276]
so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The
rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was
smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun [283]
into yarn and used for weaving cloth. [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. 231
Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their
feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired
in raids, the horses being used for warfare
and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked
but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows 492
and oxen were used for riding, the animal being
guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's
nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses
and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by
tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the
bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's
backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from 322
thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." 285
The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut
into narrow strips from which large and small
baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets [482]
were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline.
From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and
fans were made, the fans being used for killing
mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking
fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes 283
for carrying and storing food and other objects.
The string used was made from the fibers of the 415
yulú plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The
leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to
soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft
substance being later scraped away with a wooden
knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, 284
ihe, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 415

[Chaco Period]

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether 284
the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for 415
making netted bags in the past is not certain. They
now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the
reef knot method of netting. Small bags were
called *verí* and large bags, *nimaká.*

After removing the seeds from cotton and pluck- 283
ing it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn
or string on a wooden spindle, *hopée.* The spindle
was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length
with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter
fixed near one end. After attaching the string
near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the
spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the
air.

Although the Terena no longer remember the 286
form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly
probable that it was much the same as the type [178]
used today. The loom is made of two upright
sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another
crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound
around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is
looped back over a string running horizontally
between the two bars. This makes cutting un-
necessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is
passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle.
Periodically the weaver battens down the weft
with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins
at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the
Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loin- [291]
cloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts.

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water 323
jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay
was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a net-
ted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water
were then added, the mixture being well kneaded.
The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the
bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot
by adding coil after coil, flattening each one be-
tween her fingers. After several coils were added
she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a
small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of
water. When the pot was of desired thinness and
smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was
fired. The pots were then decorated with black [386]
color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was
used. The Terena claim they made some pots in [532]
the forms of animals and birds.

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed 372
stick between the palms of the hands, one end of

[Chaco Period]

372 which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village.

RAIDING

721 Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. 567 727 The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. [554] Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

421 The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, 421
slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only [428]
forms of property that were actually inherited.
The practice of burning a dead person's private [768]
property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons,
and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave
solved the problem of their disposal. Even the
houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that
the ghost of the deceased could not find its way
back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the 241 476
household was the primary economic unit. Both
the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated 592
in agricultural labor. The men performed the 462
heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground,
while the women and older children assisted in [241]
planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and
pottery making were the activities of the women.
Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild
plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a 476
communal hunt on horseback if such large action [224]
was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to
clear, several closely related households would [241]
assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, [602]
would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION 177 178

The migration of the Terena into their present 648
location in Brazilian territory was followed by [167]
many changes in their economy. Here they
found a new physical and social environment.
Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were
pushing westward, seeking land and labor for
their new enterprises. The old free life of culti- [361]
vation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an
end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands 177
allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of 241
manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops 648

[P. 13-B]

[Post-Chaco Period]

177
which were familiar to them from their Chaco 241
days. The food supply obtained through culti- 648
vation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and
work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] 166
began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these 648
lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting
the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena
lands were held under no secure title. It is said [768]
that documents relating to land grants given to [423]
Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's
grave, making evidence of ownership even more
uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian
lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving set-
tlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to [177]
make a livelihood by working on the ranches and [464]
in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. [465]
Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused
great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the es- 177
tablishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 311
and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, 423
economic conditions began to improve. Indian
lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In 648
each village a man could obtain a lot on which he
could build his house and cultivate a garden. If
he wished more land he could go outside the vil-
lage and use as many lots as he could effectively
cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained
the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian
rights were use rights only. Outside the village
an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin
cultivating and as long as he used this land it
remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at
any time he wished, after which some other Terena
could begin using it. In the village an Indian 425
could sell his house and other improvements to
another Indian, but he could not sell the land
on which the property stood. Sales of this type
are not common, as land is still plentiful, both in-
side and outside most Terena villages. In spite of 648
these restrictions the Terena are adequately pro- 563
tected, as only Indians can use reservation lands.
An Indian from another tribe under the protec-
tion of the Government is able to settle among the
Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This
practice is not common, however, and is usually
restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one 648
of the consequences of the increasing interaction

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[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[P. 14-A]

[POST-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts [797]
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition,
they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing,
bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association
with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the railroad.
The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated
in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, 241
even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

[Post-Chaco Period]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 433
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 231
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick- 262
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE 59

The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 162
mately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

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[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

[P. 15-A]

[Post-Chaco Period]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From [434]
what has been said it can be seen that wages form
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

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494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

[Post-Chaco Period]

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, 434
or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce 241
the staple food products themselves while living 433
at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. 511
These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is
spent primarily for clothing and such foods and 511
household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

Man's clothing for year:	*Cr. $*
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90,00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85,00
1 pair of pants	45,00
1 pair of shoes	120,00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50,00
Total	390,00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228,00
Underclothing—8 m. at Cr. $9,00	72,00
1 pair of sandals	15,00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50.00
Total	365.00

[P. 16-B]

[POST-Chaco Period]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 159
years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle [551]
ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married [177]
to a Terena woman, the marriage having been
performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children [792]
(three boys and three girls), one of whom
is attending the Protestant mission school at the [871]
Post.

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to [342]
kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the [352]
house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks.

[Post-Chaco Period]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides 159
himself, his wife, and six children, the house [592]
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [231]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, 177
who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized
in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather
never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana
where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking
his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned
to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather [591]
died he married and went to live with his father-in-law,
where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [965]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain
of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[POST-Chaco Period]

159 He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work.

FARMER

551 José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

342 Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

795 797 212 Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese.

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

551 795 212 191 Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihi*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village [241] on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, [463] even gold. He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temeló*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the
other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352]
His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353]
the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405]
the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241]
outside the village, growing manioc and sugar-
cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443]
which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438]
rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes,
soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells
to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891]
simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [797]
he worked with his father on his little farm. Later
he went periodically to work on the neighboring
fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other
goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the
store for some years and worked away from the
village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65
years ago. He is married and has six grown
children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his chil- [592]
dren live in a five-room, painted adobe house with
a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352]
tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio
and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513]
In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405]
and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416]
great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231]
10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he
cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241]
His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells
to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494]
and people between the railroad station at Taunay
and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a
trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithme- [212]
tic from a Brazilian while he was working away [797]
from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant
missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portu-
guese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191]
little English. He reads newspapers and is the
scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first
as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence
about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

[Post-Chaco Period]

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159]
years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551]
Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212]
tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191]
he now lives with his six children, who help him [592]
cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342]
covered with palm fronds, which also cover the
roof. There are only one large bench and a rough [352]
platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353]
are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of
material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241]
and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few
orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231]
a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years
of age, having to flee with his father from the [166]
Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian
farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming
to Bananal he has never left the village. Today
he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285]
Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the
time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435]
apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can
sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from
Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551]
native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was
born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha
He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592]
and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-
walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352]
and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two
Indian boys help José and during the time live
with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241]
grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231]
about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows,
bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chick-
ens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438]
milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells
meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231]
farms where he learned to take care of livestock.
He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and [282]
repairs harness for people in the village and for
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He [212]
learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated 361
about 4 km. north of the railroad station of 133
Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian
lands are located on a low plateau which rises
gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. [134]
The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red
soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The
native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt [137]
of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and
grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water
courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams
which are practically dry in the dry season but [132]
swell into relatively large streams during the rains
extending from October to April. Erosion is
superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed
by overgrazing or extensive plowing.

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks 361
separated by broad streets lined with mango trees.
The central avenue forms part of the road which [363]
runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue,
some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding [487]
Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of
which are connected by minor roads or paths.

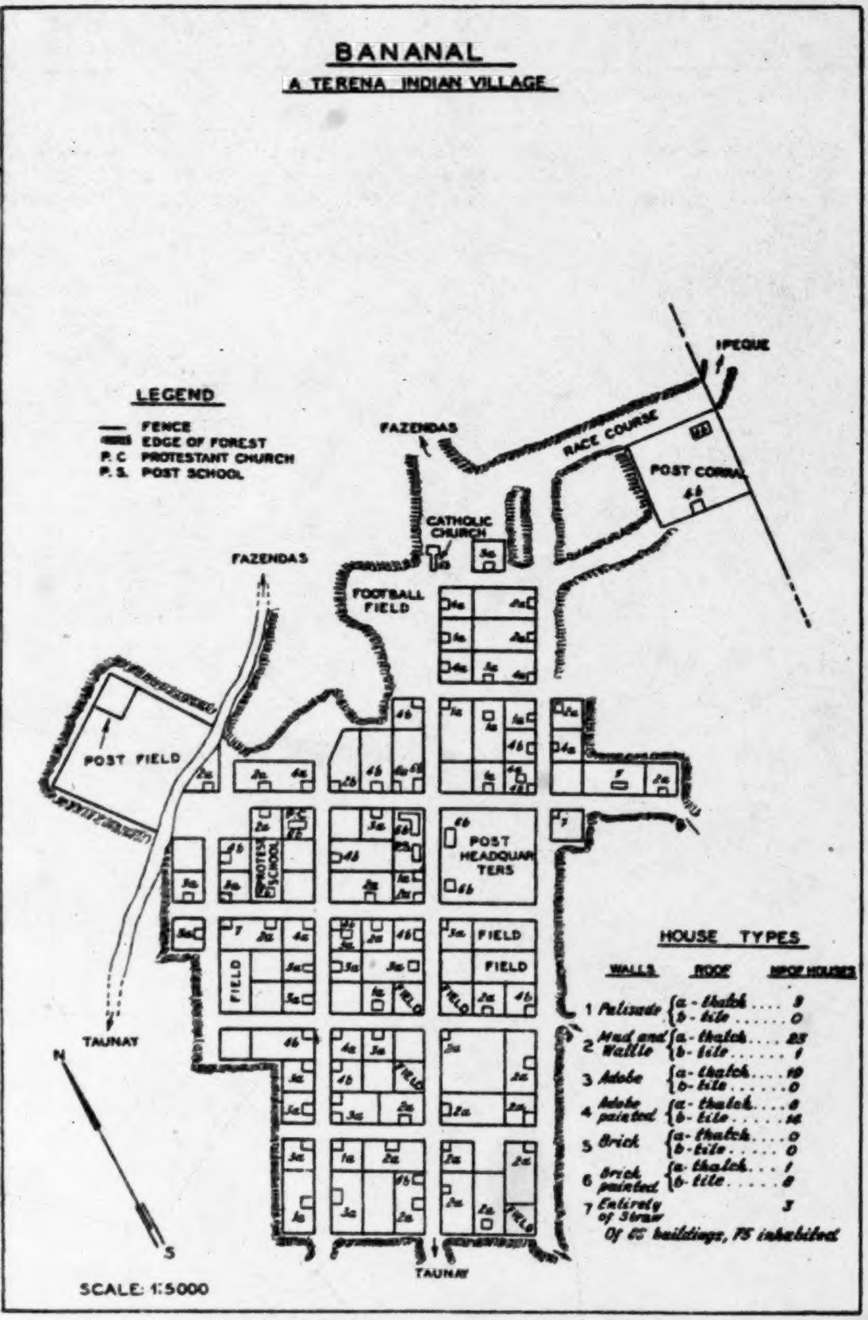
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village 312
is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth
from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed
by the Government. At least two of the Government
wells are furnished with pumps, one being
operated by a windmill. Water for the stock,
washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by 313
two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood
for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside 311
the village. Areas not fenced in for farming
are used as common pasture.

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting 361
of such buildings as the residence of the
manager, the school, the hospital, and the official [648]
visitors' building. These buildings are all made
of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors.
They are fenced in and surrounded by orange,
lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings
have more than one story. In addition to these
Government buildings, there is the Protestant [368]
mission school and the Catholic church. The rest
of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a
total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied.

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and 342
shape, as in the material from which they are con-

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--ANALYST]

311
342
361
368
102


BANANAL
A TERENA INDIAN VILLAGE
LEGEND
FENCE
EDGE OF FOREST
P. C PROTESTANT CHURCH
P. S. POST SCHOOL
IPEQUE
FAZENDAS
RACE COURSE
POST CORRAL
CATHOLIC CHURCH
FAZENDAS
FOOTBALL FIELD
POST FIELD
PROTES SCHOOL
POST HEADQUARTERS
FIELD
TAUNAY
N
S
SCALE: 1:5000
HOUSE TYPES
WALLS
ROOF
NR OF HOUSES
1 Palisade {a - thatch .... 9 / b - tile 0
2 Mud and Wattle {a - thatch .... 25 / b - tile 1
3 Adobe {a - thatch .... 10 / b - tile 0
4 Adobe painted {a - thatch .... 8 / b - tile 14
5 Brick {a - thatch .... 0 / b - tile 0
6 Brick painted {a - thatch ... 1 / b - tile 8
7 Entirely of Straw 3
Of 85 buildings, 75 inhabited

MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipeque on map, read Ipegue.)

[P. 21]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his
social prestige and the type may vary from a grass
hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All
Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has
two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear.
Each room usually has one window without glass
which can be closed for the night by a shutter.
There are usually a front and a back door. The
floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the
streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over [177]
the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red
paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the
best houses have a table made from rough hand-
sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the
cooking fire at the back of the house. The best
houses also have one or two rough wooden benches
or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner
and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made
hammocks, which during the day are hung against
the wall. In several of the houses regular spring
beds with mattresses are found. For covers the
Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket.
Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Bananal Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[P. 22-B]

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. 291 In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. [177] [286] [439] After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young
ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a
sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept
clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the
"caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of
food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper. 241 [134]

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety. 244 262 [241]

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[P.24-A]

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244 this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262 overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252 the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252 until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244 is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252 clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412 roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252 cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177] they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

[Bananal Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in 257 a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole.

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual [272] custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar.

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely sec- 243 ondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop 243 is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted 252 before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use.

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main 249 types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white 252 variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a 244
day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers 252
are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from
sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there
are large quantities and it is feared they will
decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into
cakes and baked in an oven.

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks 244
like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted
at any time of the year. It is used in soups and [262]
stews made with dried meat.

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the
Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known
in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy
bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be
planted at any time of the year but does best
when planted at the beginning of the rainy season.
A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as
"feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does
not grow well in this region. This variety of bean
is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans [262]
are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten [252]
boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like
the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans
with rice.

Rice (nakati).—As has been mentioned, rice 243
is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the
uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy
enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands
surrounding Bananal. The planting period will
vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month.
The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown
broadcast.

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice
grown by the Terena were not obtained. They
use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they
grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the
rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100
days after planting. Rice is harvested with a
sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are
removed by beating the sheaf against the ground.
Rice is husked as required for household use in
the same wooden mortar used for husking maize.
Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or [262]
boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes [252]
rice is also eaten in the form of thin
porridge.

[P.26-A]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[Banana l Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house 512
puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté 272
calabash and pours the boiling water over the
leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then
sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being
passed from hand to hand until all have had
enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family
has enough money it may even be of metal. A
decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena
can afford. After drinking maté the people eat [264]
whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, [262]
such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with
manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available.

After breakfast the men take their tools and go 512
to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry 462
or building. Unless field work is urgent the women
and children remain at home, the women preparing
manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and
preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast
the women go to the wells in the village to
draw water. They fill their water pots and carry [482]
them to their houses on their heads. Often many
women meet at a well, each taking her turn at [415]
drawing water with a metal bucket attached to
a rope. In the meantime, the other women are [521]
engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of
laughter.

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return 512
to their houses where the women have prepared 264
a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each
one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits [262]
apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but
usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide
the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk [272]
after the meal. Eating is a private act, while
drinking maté from a common calabash brings
everyone together. The Terena consider maté
drinking an important social activity. After eating,
both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. [461]
Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work.
In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too
long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between
2 and 3 o'clock.

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, 512
drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean
clothing. The wives then call the men for the [264]
evening meal, which usually consists of beans,
rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat.
Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps [262]
sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. [517]

[Chaco Period] Terena
[Bananal Village]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discuss- 517
ing their crops and activities of the day. The
women remain at home but men gather in small
groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some
time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors
return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked,
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the
mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets
are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing
their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for
axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and
mats. During this period the women spin cotton
yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew
clothes for themselves and their families. As
everywhere in the world, the women have such
constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking,
washing, and taking care of the children. The
older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little
by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were di-
vided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was
called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa"
in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild
people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these
moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they
exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to
settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at 616
moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the 622
spokesman of his group in matters concerning the
village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not
appear to have had any judicial functions, their
powers being limited to advising and warning
quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of
equal status.

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled
partly by heredity and partly by the will of the
people. When a chief died the son who resembled
him most in personal characteristics was selected
chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could
also select the chief's brother or brother's son.
Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This [562]
account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the
rather elaborate rules of succession described by [114]
other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310).

During everyday life there was nothing to dis- 616
tinguish members of one moiety from another. 796
Their houses were not segregated nor were they
set apart by differences in habits or everyday
clothing. During ceremonials, however, the be-
havior of the two groups toward one another
changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play
tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified man-
ner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the
shumonó heaped upon them. Some of the tricks
played were the following: During daylight and [831]
in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would
carry on rough sexual play with a woman from
the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face
of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later
giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a
group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the
other side and pull and push him about in the
center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó*
would turn a dish of food over the head of a
sukirikionó; sometimes a *shumonó* would put the
contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder
and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads
of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was lim-
ited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó*
was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame
the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in
an effort to make himself appear superior. During 616
ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite 796
each other, the members were distinguished by 302
body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their
bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while

[P. 28-A]

[Chaco Period]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs
(*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners
(*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*).
The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and
their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their
own group. As one could marry only within his
own moiety this often meant village exogamy to
members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal
part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching
his father dressed in a light-red blanket [292]
which he would take off and substitute for the
dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the
sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony.
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [562]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of
common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again,
marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners
were free tribesmen who had not acquired [641]
status through war or marriage into the two upper
classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed
them in war and danced with them during
ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in
war by killing an enemy he could become a free
man. It is said that a slave could even become
a war chief if he were particularly successful in
war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or
killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the warrior
class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies.
He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet [534]
as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot
feathers. [237]

[P. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable au- 616
thority over warriors both on war parties and dur- 701
ing periods of training. The position of the war
chief was not a hereditary one although his son 726
could succeed him. A new chief was always se- 554
lected from among outstanding warriors on the
basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one
enemy and to have otherwise distinguished him-
self as a leader and a man of courage.

The ceremony during which a new war chief 616
was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion.
The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village 701
together and extolled the merits of the candidate
for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would
then signify their assent. After the selection was
made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and
offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age,
illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to
war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief
would kneel on one knee before the candidate and
offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved
of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that
you will carry on my task with success." He
would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt [554]
and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his
new status. The new war chief would accept
it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that
he must now be in the forefront of all battles
and that his life was in great danger.

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on war- 726
fare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other [721]
loot. During large raids many villages combined,
the ablest war chief being selected to lead the [628]
war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the [616]
tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position [622]
was reserved for men who had committed some
criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an
enemy they were considered free men. Fighting
was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with [411]
deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with
vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic
times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword.

From what has been said we get a general pic- 105
ture of Terena social organization during the time
the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they
were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to
be corroborated by the accounts of Sãnchez Labra-
dor. How much this village life was modified by [177]
the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. [231]
From statements made by the Terena it seems

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence 105
upon loot in the form of livestock and war cap- 231
tives led to a degree of nomadism and a band 177
type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life.

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended fam- 626
ily. If a man committed murder the relatives of 682
the murdered man would try to kill the murderer [596]
in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his
own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him [627]
a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy.

If a man caught another in the act of adultery 682
with his wife, he could kill the man, which would 684
settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands

[Chaco Period]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Chaco Period]

601

In the paternal generation there are two terms for ego's father—the referential term *sa'a* and the vocative term *ta'ata*. There are two terms for mother—the referential term *ẽno* and the vocative term *mẽme*. Father's brother is termed *poisa'a* (literally, other father). Father's sister is designated by the descriptive term *mokechansa'a*. Mother's sister is called *poiẽno* (literally other mother) and mother's brother is designated by the descriptive term *ayoẽna*. In addition to these terms for the siblings of parents, the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father's brother and mother's brother can be termed *oungo* and *lulu*, and father's sister and mother's sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena. They may be respect terms for mother's brother and father's sister which are extended to male and female relatives of the parental generation in the manner in which *ta'ata* and *mẽme* are extended to all older people in the father's and mother's generation.

In ego's generation, male speaking, there are two specific classificatory terms for brother—*enjovi*, older brother, and *andi*, younger brother. Both these terms are extended to male parallel and cross cousins on both the father's and mother's side. A man calls his sisters and female parallel and cross cousins *mongecha*. These terms are reversed when a woman is speaking. In addition, there is a more general term for brother, *lele*, which can be used to designate men of one's own generation of more distant relationship. The term *cucuná* is used for designating a middle brother.

In the children's generation there are terms for son, *djeá*, and daughter, *inziné*, which are extended, male speaking, to the sons and daughters of brothers. Sisters' children are termed *nevongé*, sex being shown by the addition of *hoyeno* (male) and *seno* (female). When a woman speaks the terms are reversed.

There is just one term, *amori*, for grandchildren. *Hoyeno* and *seno* may be added if necessary.

In the parent's generation both classificatory and descriptive terms can be used for affinal relatives. Father's brother's wife may be called *meme* or *yenolulu* (uncle's wife), and mother's sister's husband may be called *ta'ata* or *imaongo* (aunt's

[P. 30-B]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

[Chaco Period]

[P.31]

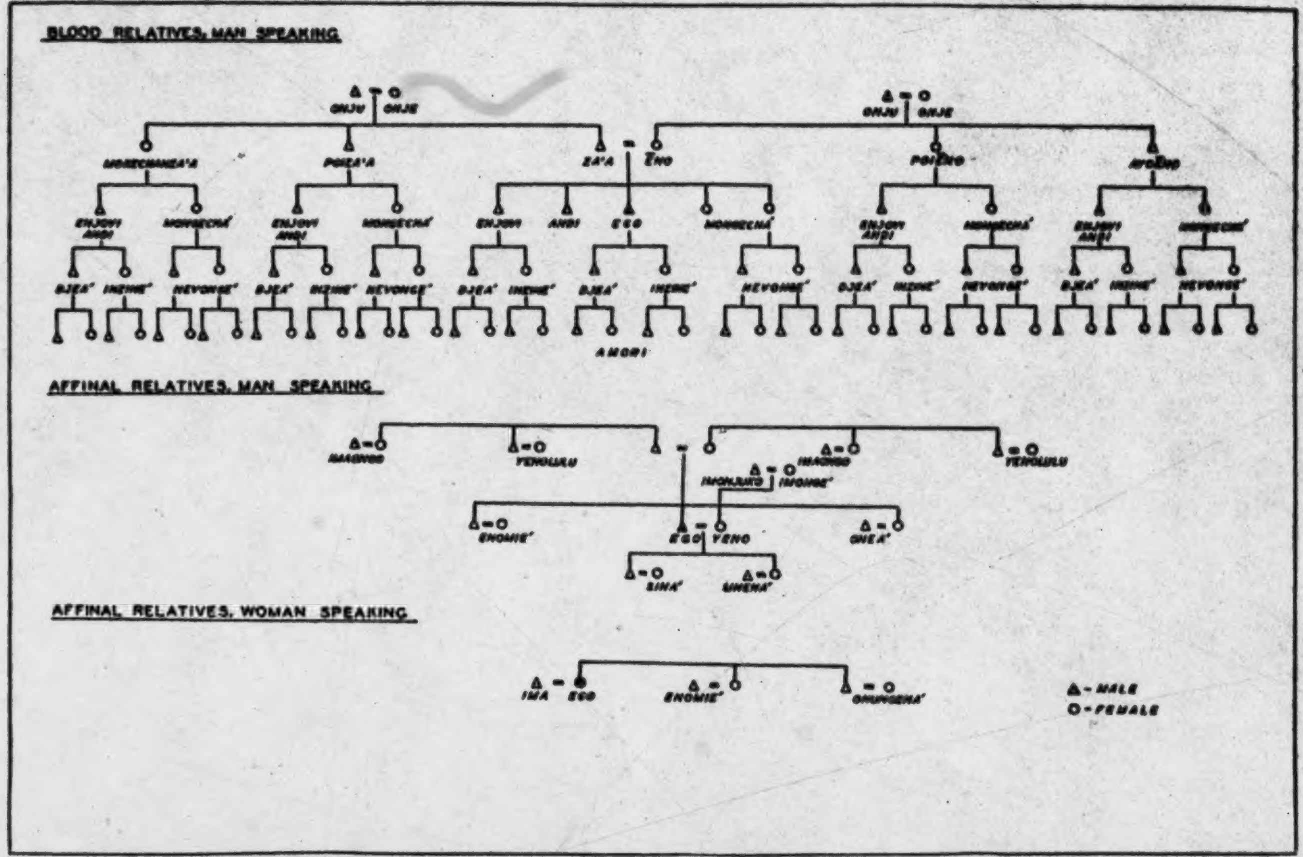

BLOOD RELATIVES, MAN SPEAKING
ONJU
ONJE
MONEECHANEA'A
POIZA'A
ZA'A
ĔNO
ONJU
ONJE
POIĔNO
AYOĔNO
ENJOVI ANDI
MONEECHÁ
ENJOVI ANDI
MONEECHÁ
ENJOVI
ANDI
EGO
MONEECHÁ
ENJOVI ANDI
MONEECHÁ
ENJOVI ANDI
MONEECHÁ
BJEA'
INZINE'
NEVONGE'
BJEA'
INZINE'
NEVONGE'
BJEA'
INZINE'
BJEA'
INZINE'
NEVONGE'
BJEA'
INZINE'
NEVONGE'
BJEA'
INZINE'
NEVONGE'
AMORI
AFFINAL RELATIVES, MAN SPEAKING
IMAONGO
YENOLULU
IMAONGO
YENOLULU
IMONAUTO
IMONGE'
ENOMIE'
EGO
YENO
ONEA'
SINA'
UNENA'
AFFINAL RELATIVES, WOMAN SPEAKING
IMA
EGO
ENOMIE'
ONUNGENA'
Δ - MALE
O - FEMALE

CHART 1.—Terena kinship terms.

109

[Chaco Period]

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from 582 marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally mo- 595 nogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young 591 couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or 606 father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social 105 organization of the Terena while they were in the 177 Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom [847] of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

[P. 32-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

RECENT CHANGES

177 565 648 As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena [622] settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

177 622 648 616 The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief [554] had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

178 182 616 It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety [535] basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around 177 the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena 527 elements, and football. In each of these perform- 535 ances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a [526] primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that 177 the Terena in most villages are divided into Catho- 182 lics and Protestants, each sect having its own char- 795 acteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organization 182
tion but which continue the underlying social motives 795
for organized opposition. The Terena are
keenly aware of these new social activities and
their competitive nature, and most of their leisure
time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or
otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves
were captured as children it is not likely that they 565
returned to their original homes. On the other
hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having
slave blood, something which is still customary
among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that
they married slaves. If this were strictly true the
only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a
social group lost its identity along with the general
disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888
undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have
been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. 565
The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena [464]
lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood
through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena
on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around
1910, the old class distinctions were more or less
effaced. A new generation had grown up in the
meantime which had not participated in the old
pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions
among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo.
Another contributing factor may be the fact that
the Terena developed a class structure later than
the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a
part of their social organization as it did among
the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not
only of slavery but of the whole class structure of
unati, *shuna'ashcti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was
the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure 178
among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was 182
intimately associated with raiding the livestock
and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals 565
who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure.

The unity of the extended family and the kin- 178
dred was weakened in much the same way. The
economic and political bands which drew Terena 182
kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into 546
disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena
on Government lands. The Post was the new pro- [648]
tector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those [797]
Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena
no longer live in large houses occupied by an ex- [342]
tended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station.

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

[P. 34-A]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement 178
have disappeared, and as the extended family 182
was the primary unit for political protection it, 596
too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern.

Enough has been said to account for the breakdown 178
of the old class structure and kinship organization 182
of the Terena and the gradual appearance
of a new pattern of social organization. One 601
expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a [829]
confused knowledge of their kinship terminology.
As the Terena are bilingual and as the family [191]
organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system.

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms 178
for the organization of ceremonial opposition has
already been mentioned. The fact that the young 182
Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to
say about them is significant. The older Terena 616
will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate [582]
marriage is the best evidence of their breakdown. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people.

We might well ask, what then is the present 101
social organization of the Terena? The Terena 829
do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the

[P. 34-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

101 829 Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. [771]

101 177 829 In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos."

101 177 182 A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization

[p.35-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

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177
182

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

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Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673] unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681] reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving [682] murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

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The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

[Post Chaco Period]

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained. 177 182 191

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service. 177 182 648

As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and 177 554 648

[Post Chaco Period]

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk
their duties to their families and the Post, they are
required to work and receive not money but credit
for food and clothing at a certain store in the
nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that
the manager has close friends and also enemies.
The present manager of Bananal claims that he
has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him
from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian
Service regulations. How much of this is really
due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent
custom in Mato Grosso of important men having
bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can
say that social status or the lack of status is closely
connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission station.
The activities of the missionaries go far 797
beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine.
Besides religious teaching the missionaries
supervise the moral behavior of their followers.
Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities
are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules
results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical,
and educational assistance. The son of the present
chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in
the village was asked by the missionaries to marry
the girl. For one reason or another the chief's
son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries
were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance
among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the
Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried
mother as do the American Protestant missionaries.
On the writer's last visit to Bananal both
the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement
and were living in a nearby town, at least
temporarily. Actually this matter had repercussions [648]
on higher levels, for the Indian Service
closed the Protestant school for some months.
This event reveals the power and importance of the
Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the
village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life
is customarily achieved through economic and
medical rewards, and it does seem true that the
Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses
and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

177 797 also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths.

177 [464] [434] The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams.

166 177 464 Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages.

SUMMARY

105 Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times.

105 177 [361] 1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to

[P 37-A]

[POST Chaco Period]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105
settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177
organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class
organization was the first to disappear. The ap- 105
pointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177
ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182
moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were
forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the [616]
fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulat-
ing marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew
weaker, an individual being able to marry his
opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite
moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, there- 105
fore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162]
Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the
local groups, or villages, are established on defined [648]
areas of Government land. Contact between the
members of the different villages is maintained [628]
through intermarriage, visiting between relatives
and friends, football matches between the principal
villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the fol- [594]
lowing structural elements: The basic unit is the
individual family, which carries on the primary
economic activities associated with the rearing and
training of the young. The extended family is [596]
no longer a defined house group although bilateral
kinship ties are strong, very much after the Bra-
zilian pattern. Young married men live either [591]
with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same
house, but in most cases they sooner or later build
their own houses on the same lot. Politically the
village is organized around the Post with the [648]
Brazilian manager exercising authority through [361]
his police force and the Terena village chief, or
headman. In the principal villages the people
are organized into two religious groups, Catholics [771]
and Protestants, centering around missionary ac-
tivities. In recreational activities the larger
villages are organized into football teams and, in [526]
Bananal, into a football club which organizes Bra-
zilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

[POST Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

Native dances like the shaman
dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance 105
leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree [535]
of specialization, owing to the presence of stores,
masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural [463]
activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian 105
world, first, by being made a part of the
Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian 177
Service and its representatives, the Post
managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the 105
Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians 648
they are sometimes called "bugres," a term
of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The 186
Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status
differences between the Indian groups and between [554]
the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused 843
by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware [842]
that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

[P. 38-A]

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843 her food. In general the mother of a young woman informs her about her condition. The Terena have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192] *kochuecháti*. The Terena distinguish between a married man who is a father and one who is not, a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were practiced. 847 Whether this was an original Terena custom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not certain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177] that the Terena took over this custom from the Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for infanticide is that it permitted a family to have male and female children alternately. If the first child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if [842] a boy was born, he was put to death by being strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family had too many children, or if children were inconvenient, [756] the expectant mother would go to a shaman who would make her drink a beverage prepared from certain roots. If this failed the mother might still have the child strangled. If a male child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845] one would be killed. Twins were due, they believed, to the fact that the mother had eaten double fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844 gave birth in her own home, attended by her mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756] only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845] cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena remember, no special knife was necessary to perform this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789] abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to give birth the mother squatted on her heels, supporting herself by holding on to some stationary object. The midwife would massage her abdomen and assist in the removal of the child. The midwife then washed the child and gave it to the [846] mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262] would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824] for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553 duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Chaco Period]

to the child, the name usually being that of a rela- 553 603
tive long dead. A mother suckled a child until
a new baby was born or until the child was able to 853
eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on 854
the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held
by the same strap in front while suckling. For
short distances small children were carried strad-
dling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to 844
have been treated purely as a secular event, for
the Terena remember no special ceremonies or
rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian 177
fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries 844
are present to give medical help. They also give [797]
advice in the care of children. The infant is bap-
tized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith.
In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the 5[illegible]
child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered 17[illegible]
that abortion and even infanticide are still occa- 847
sionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and 881
girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that 622
in the past each family celebrated the coming of 565
age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a
public ceremony. When a chief's daughter
reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen
fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her
house, which was periodically struck by one of the
women. The girl painted her body black with [302]
"genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross- [516]
legged on a reed mat in the center of the house.
The women of the village then brought cotton and
beans which they threw over the head of the girl.
The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food
and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint them- 841
selves black and abstain from washing as in the
past. Contact with water is believed to cause the 823
enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake
or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through 881
a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The
principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy 622
approaching his father dressed in a light-red 565
blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red 292
blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red
blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

881 622 565 [292] also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

584 In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

[567] The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

585 574 When the girl reached puberty the wedding ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye esházi shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

585 The bride's father then led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé* 585
koyenóti (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives.

In the case of a marriage involving the son of 584
a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The 565
war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors
in full regalia consisting of rhea feather head- [292]
dresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time
when they would go out to gather honey for mak- [273]
ing the beverage, *mopó*.

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took 585
place. The groom and his parents were led by 565
three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand.

Today the young man makes his request directly 177
to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the 585
young couple are married as far as Terena cus- [178]
tom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money.

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings,
clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing
the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted
to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who 765 had lost two husbands. [587] Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, [177] burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair.

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the 178 important changes of status in individual lives 797 has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the [871] time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live.

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official 797 Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant 871 missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30.

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, 797 with one American teacher and 3 Terena 872 girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

797 872 is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. [876] Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

648 872 797 [875] The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

797 872 The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. [181] The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

776 [776] The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihiaiuné*. [774] Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. [789] Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. 775 [756] Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[Chaco Period]

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for 776
the existence of the world, the "High God," 773
Itukoviche, was not significant. It may even turn
out that the belief in a "High God" is due to
Christian influence. There appear to be no myths
or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really
important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these
twins the Terena explain their origin and the
origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of 776
their culture. The Terena have a number of 773
myths about the origin and exploits of the twin 539
culture heroes. One version expresses the origin
of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows:

> In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

> *Yúrikoyuvakái* was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

> In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.
>
> The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

[Chaco Period]

> had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hivoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm. 539 773 776
>
> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *puló'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopác*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life. 773 776

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story: [821] 539 773 776

> It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

[P. 42-B]

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking alto-
gether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

> *Voropí* is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

> *Hihíaiuné* is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipotí* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits,
not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu, and Hihí-
aiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls
of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate ob-
jects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming,
and love-making can be achieved through the as- [761]
sistance of these spiritual entities. People fear
the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come
back to take a relative or friend to the land of
the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life.
The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are
a threat to life and property. But in addition to
these dangers, the souls of people may leave their
living bodies or the souls of objects and animals
may cause these objects or animals to enter the
body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised 756
by everyone. A long period of training and
the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before
a person can get into touch with the spirit world.
Although many Terena, in the past, practiced
sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however,
only the shamans who could operate through
the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, 756
koishúmuneti, would fall into a trance and his
soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, 787
Voropí and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with
the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special [776]
spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, [775]
at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman
what he wanted to know and would also perform
tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits
would appear to the shaman in the form of animals,
snakes, or birds while the shaman was in
a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *kiʾpahé*. The *kiʾpahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure 753
sickness. The Terena have two theories about 756
illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and
second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the
body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the
body either through witchcraft as practiced by
some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost.
Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed
through witchcraft. The task of the shaman
is to remove the injurious object or to return
the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie 756
on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance 755
slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd
rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and
his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask,
"Why have you called me?" The shaman would
answer, "I have called you to tell me why this
person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the ill- 756
ness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign 755
object was causing illness the shaman would suck
the painful part of the body, later removing the
object from his mouth and showing it to the pa-
tient and those present. These objects were usu-
ally said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or
worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's
spirit helper would return it to the body of the
patient.

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. 756
This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all 754
night, calling on the soul of the person whom he
wished to make ill. When the soul appeared
before him the shaman would force the soul of a [774]
snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body.
The soul would remain in the power of the shaman
and would do his bidding while the bewitched
person became ill.

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said 756
to have cured by medicines made from roots and 757
herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit
helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs [789]
he should use.

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost ob- 756
jects, and the location of enemy war parties, in 787
the past, shamans would either send their spirit
helpers to investigate and inform them or the
shamans would find out for themselves by sending
their own souls as scouts.

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare 756
amulets and charms against dangers to the body, 789
to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love
medicines and to make charms to bring about suc- 832
cess in hunting and fishing. These charms were
effective, it was believed, because the shamans
knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate
objects which would bring about the results re-
quired.

An important function of Terena shamans was 756
the selection and training of new shamans. Old
shamans selected novices from among their chil-
dren or other young people in the village who
expressed their willingness to undertake the rigor-
ous training required. A certain amount of seclu- [262]
sion and the avoidance of fat and salt was de- [263]
manded for the novices. The initiation of novices
usually took place during the annual shaman festi-
val. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or [774]
plant which he was supposed to swallow. During [787]

[Chaco Period]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 774
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls 787
of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or
spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world.
Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one),
would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [775]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[P. 44-B]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans with- 756
drew to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [177]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Ba- [797]
nanal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shaman- 775
ism from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the
spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to
me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated,
is enough to make the spirits come to him.
He then makes his wishes known to the spirits.
When he is in contact with the spirits he claims
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787]
sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí*
lives. He says that shamans who get in contact
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming [789]
out of the trance he tells people where he has been
and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says
that when a shaman learns how to cure certain
diseases, he does not always have to consult the
spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make
"bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female
shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they
have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from 756
the saints when they worked on Brazilian
fazendas. These two men, although considered
shamans, use Christian saints instead of the
ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have
adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their
own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations
in this part of Brazil, stated that there are
still many active Terena shamans and that one of
the female shamans has many Brazilian clients.
These "customers" would come long distances to
consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters
concerning their personal life. The colonel
said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum
to the reservations.

[Post Chaco Period]

771 756 Shamanism is still an important part of Terena belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. [177] An interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé.* In addition, the *ohéa'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

771 177 797 Although the Terena have no clear record of missionary activity among the tribe from the date of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

797 In 1910 a number of English Protestant missionaries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

[Post Chaco Period]

797 Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today.

[648] When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages.

797 776 796 177 In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place.

796 177 During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place.

[Post Chaco Period]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners 796
of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have 177
now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The [178]
other saints' days, however, are holidays, during
which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian [527]
dances.

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant 182
missionary activity among the Terena has introduced 797
competition and conflict into the religious 798
picture. Besides competing for converts, the two 152
creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena
themselves. The football teams are organized on [526]
a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete
for favors from the manager of the Post;
the schools separate the children; the entertainment
of Catholic and Protestant groups differs.

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are 771
common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant 795
friends may suddenly become conscious of
his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church
in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on
the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code
imposed upon him will be punished by having
the advantages which the mission provides taken
away from him. This often results in his leaving
the Protestant church, removing his children from
the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic
church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of [684]
the Terena are the principal causes leading to the [689]
abandonment of the Protestant church.

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive 797
nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary 798
activity among the Terena is something which 578
both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo."

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As 771
matters now stand there appears to be a threefold 177
struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Prot- 756
estantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism.

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are 535
the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Bra- 527
zilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these
dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena [177]
consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays.

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had
many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

[Chaco Period]

although they no longer perform them. As one 535 would expect, the ceremonial season opened at 527 harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, [178] enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome [262] change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize [243] was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank [554] the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the 527 Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, 526 selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *pirintúti*. The Terena

explain that this game was a form of training for 527
war. 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades
were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman 756
dance, was performed. As this dance is directly 527
connected with shamanism, it was described under 535
that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco.

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the 616
members of the two moieties and was customarily 526
played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety 527
chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety.

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvomunéti*, *pirituti*, 527
ohéo'koti, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal 526
dances and games performed during the harvest [241]
season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were

[Chaco Period]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 527
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [177]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarí*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The 522
"caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São 527
Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in 536
origin and which represents a peace ceremony be- [177]
tween the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at 535
present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." 527
Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the
other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side [302]
paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side
white and the other black. Thus, although the [616]
moiety organization of the Terena has broken
down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. [187]
The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the
dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, [292]
a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two
drummers and one or two flute players who stand [533]
in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader.
Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 [534]
feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[p. 49-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed 535
more or less automatically. The two leaders de- 527
mand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period.

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of [177]
the ***kôhi-shoti-kipahé***, or "bate-pau," are at once

[Post Chaco Period]

177

apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances. 527 535 [534]

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet. [533]

535 527 Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief.
Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578]
dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain [177]
was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

[POST Chaco Period]

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526 The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, [527] and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541 Terena indulge is horse racing. 525 There are no fixed dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

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[P. 69-A]

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[p. 69-B]

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INDEX

070

Abortion, 2, 38, 55
Agriculture:
    crops
        cultivation of, 11–12, 24–26, 60
        list of, 11–12, 14–15, 60
    labor, 11, 60
    magic, 10
    methods, comparison of, 4, 23, 60
    myth, 6
    preparation of land, 11, 24, 60
    selection of land, 10, 23–24, 60
    tools, 23
Animals, domestic, 12, 15
Attitudes:
    between Terena and Brazilians, 38
    Caduveo, 58
Avoidance:
    father-in-law, 32, 62
    food, 10
    mother-in-law, 32, 62
Bags, 12, 22
Basketry, 12, 22
Beds:
    covering, 27
    floor, 8, 54
    hammocks, 8, 22
    platform, 8, 22
Berdaches, 63
Birds, domestic, 12
Birth:
    practices, 38, 62
    pregnancy, 38
Burial:
    Caduveo, 63
    Mbayá, 55
    Terena, 40–41
Calendar:
    of agriculture, 23–26
    of economic activities, 9
Cattle:
    Caduveo, 58
    raiding of, 18
    riding of, 12, 60
Change (culture):
    in customs, 37
    in economy, 14–15
    in social organization, 32–38
    stages of, 4
    summary of, 37–38
Chiefs:
    Caduveo, 58
    in Brazil, 32
    moiety, 27–28
        description of, 28
        succession of, 28–29
        symbols of, 27
    war, 28–29
        abolition of, 32
        marriage of, 40
Classes:
    break-down of, 32–34
    description of, 28
    Mbayá, 53–54
Clothing, 9, 23, 54, 59
Cotton, 12, 26
Crimes, punishment of, see Law
Dances:
    bate-pau, 33, 49–50
    corn dance, 46

[p.71-A]

INDEX

000

Dances—Continued
    etakúlige, 64
    modern, 50–51
    noboki-suano, 64
    shaman dance, *see* Shamanism
Education:
    Caduveo, 58
    Terena, 41
    See also Life histories
Endogamy, *see* Moieties
Feathers, 9, 12, 54
Fire:
    making of, 12–13
    myth of, 42
Fish:
    Caduveo, 59
    Terena, 10
Foods:
    collecting of, 9
    eating and drinking, 54
    preparation of, 9–11, 24–27
    See also Life histories
Games:
    Caduveo, 65
    everani, 49
    football, 33, 51
    horse racing, 51
    láia, 49
    mock fight, 48
    piritúti, 48
Geography:
    Bananal, 20
    Caduveo territory, 56
    Chaco, 6
Guaná tribes, 2
Hair:
    cut, men and women, 22, 59
    plucking of, 9
    style, 9, 59
Homosexuality, 63
Horses:
    adoption of:
        by Guaná, 3
        by Mbayá, 3, 54
    influence on social organization, 29
    racing of, 51
    use of, 12
Houses:
    contents of, 9, 22–23, 54
    description of, 8, 20–22, 54
    temporary, 8
Hunting:
    dependence upon, 59
    magic, 10
    method of, 10, 59
    weapons of, 10, 59
Infanticide, 36
    Caduveo, 62
    Mbayá, 2, 55
    Terena, 32
Inheritance, 13
Kinship system:
    Caduveo, 60–62
    Terena, 30–32
    type, 32
Kinship terminology:
    Caduveo, 60–62
    Terena, 30–32
        disuse of, 34

[p.71-B]

000

Labor:
    communal, 13
    division of, 11, 13, 27
Lands:
    Indian, 14, 52, 56
        grants, 14
        title to, 14
    soil type, 20, 60
Law:
    Crimes, punishment of:
        adultery, 29-30
        immorality, 30
        incest, 30
        murder, 29
        theft, 30
        witchcraft, 30
    enforcement of, 29
    Indian Service, 35
Life histories, 17-20
Magic:
    agriculture, 10
    birth, 38
    hunting, 10
Marriage, 2
    arrangement of, 39, 62
    ceremonies, 39-40, 62-63
    endogamy, 27
    Mbayá, 55
    of war chief, 40
    of widows and widowers, 40-41
    prohibitions, 62
    rules of, 32, 34, 62
Mbayá tribes, 2
Menstruation, 39
Migration:
    Terena into Brazil, 13
    Terena into Chaco, 1-6
Missionaries:
    attendance at birth, 39
    role of, 14, 38
Moieties:
    break-down of, 33
    ceremonial license, 28
    description of, 27-28
    endogamy, 27
    in Brazil, 32-33
    succession of chiefs, 28
Money income:
    Caduveo, 58, 60
    Terena, sources and expenditure, 15-17
Mortar, use of, 22
Myths, 6, 63
Naming of child, 38-39, 62
Ornaments, 9, 23, 54, 59
Ownership:
    collective, 13
    individual, 13
    land, see Lands
Painting:
    body, 9
    face, 59
    hides, 67
    pottery, 12, 67
Physical types, 5
Political status, 2
Population, see map, 7
Posts, Indian, 4
    Caduveo, 58
    functions of manager, 34-36, 58-59
    importance of, 34
    Terena, 20
Pottery:
    decoration of, 12, 67
    forms, 66
    manufacture of, 12, 66
    use of, 22

[p.72-A]

OCO

INDEX

- Prostitution, 63
- Puberty:
  - Caduveo, 62
  - Mbayá, 54–55
  - Terena, 39
- Religion:
  - Caduveo, 63–64
  - conflict of, 33, 47
  - culture hero, origin of, 42
  - present day, 45–47
  - spirits, evil, belief in, 42–43
  - *See also* Myths, Shamanism, and Life histories
- Resources:
  - in Brazil, 13–14
  - in Chaco, 6, 9
- Saddle, 12, 60
- Serfdom, Mbayá-Guaná, 53
- Settlements, 3–4
- Shamanism:
  - at birth, 38
  - at death, 40
  - beliefs, 43
  - Caduveo, 63–64
  - dance, 44–45
  - functions, 43–44
  - Mbayá, 55–56
  - present day, 45–46
  - training, 44–45
  - *See also* Life histories and Religion
- Slaves:
  - Caduveo, 52
  - capturing of, 13
  - disappearance of, 33–34
  - status, 28
  - use of, 13, 53
- Social organization:
  - Caduveo, 52–54
  - changes, 32–38
  - classes, 28
    - break-down of, 33–34
  - disappearance of slavery, 33–34
  - moieties, 27
- Status:
  - Terena legal, 35
  - Terena social, 35–36
- Symbiosis, 1–2
- Teeth, filing of, 59
- Temperatures, Chaco, 6
- Tobacco, 12, 26
- Travel, *see* Life histories
- Twins, *see* Infanticide
- Umbilical cord, 38, 62
- Utensils, 22
- Villages:
  - Caduveo, 59
  - description of, 8
  - typical Terena, 20
- Wage work:
  - Caduveo, 60
  - Terena, 14
- Warfare:
  - cessation of, 32
    - influence of, 4
  - description of, 28–29
  - Mbayá, 3, 53
  - war chief, 28
    - selection of, 28
- Water supply:
  - Caduveo, 59
  - Terena, 20
- Weapons:
  - of chase, 10, 59
  - of war, 28
- Weaving, type of loom, 12, 26

[p.72-B]

361

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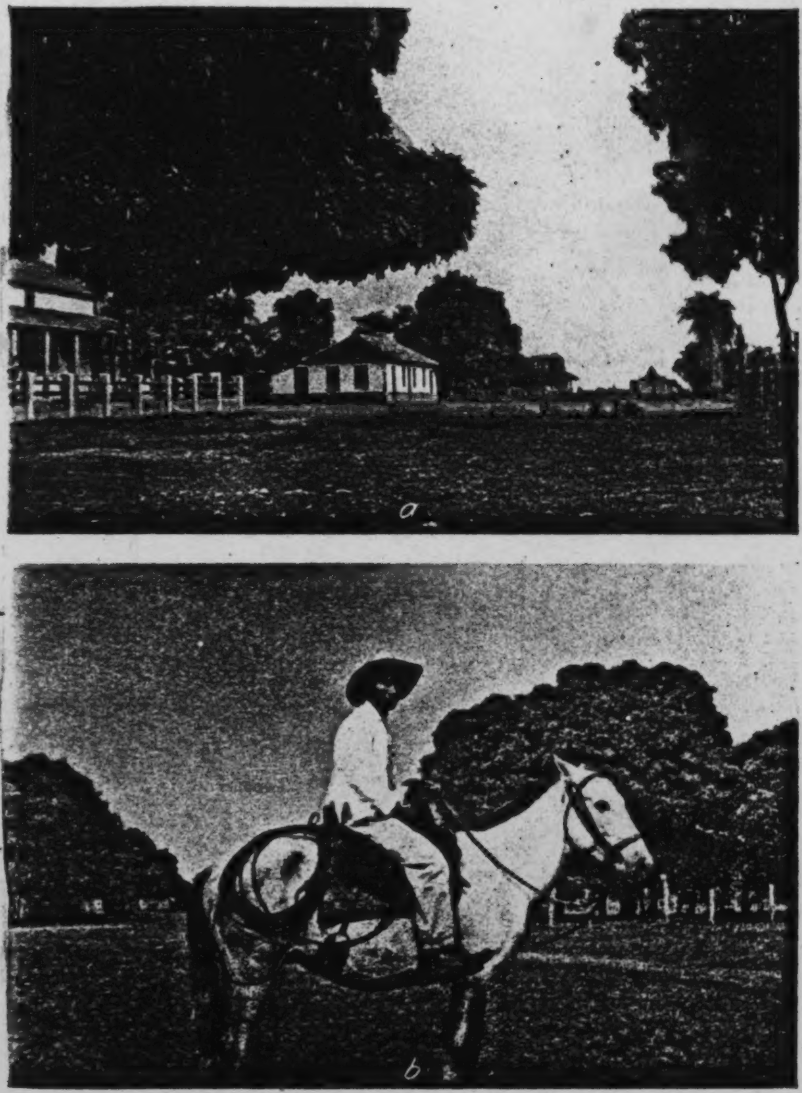

PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena gaucho.

[End Plate 1]
[P. 73]

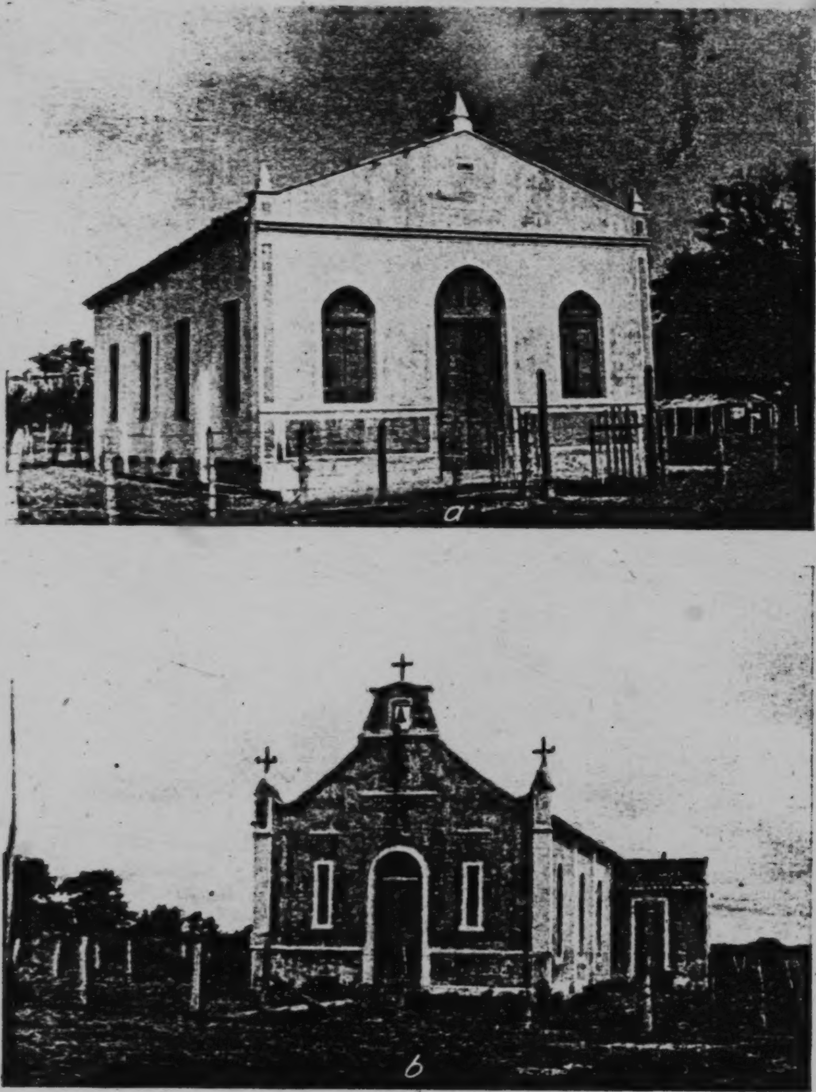

PLATE 2.—Terena churches. a, Protestant church. b, Catholic church.

[P. 74]

[End Plate 2]

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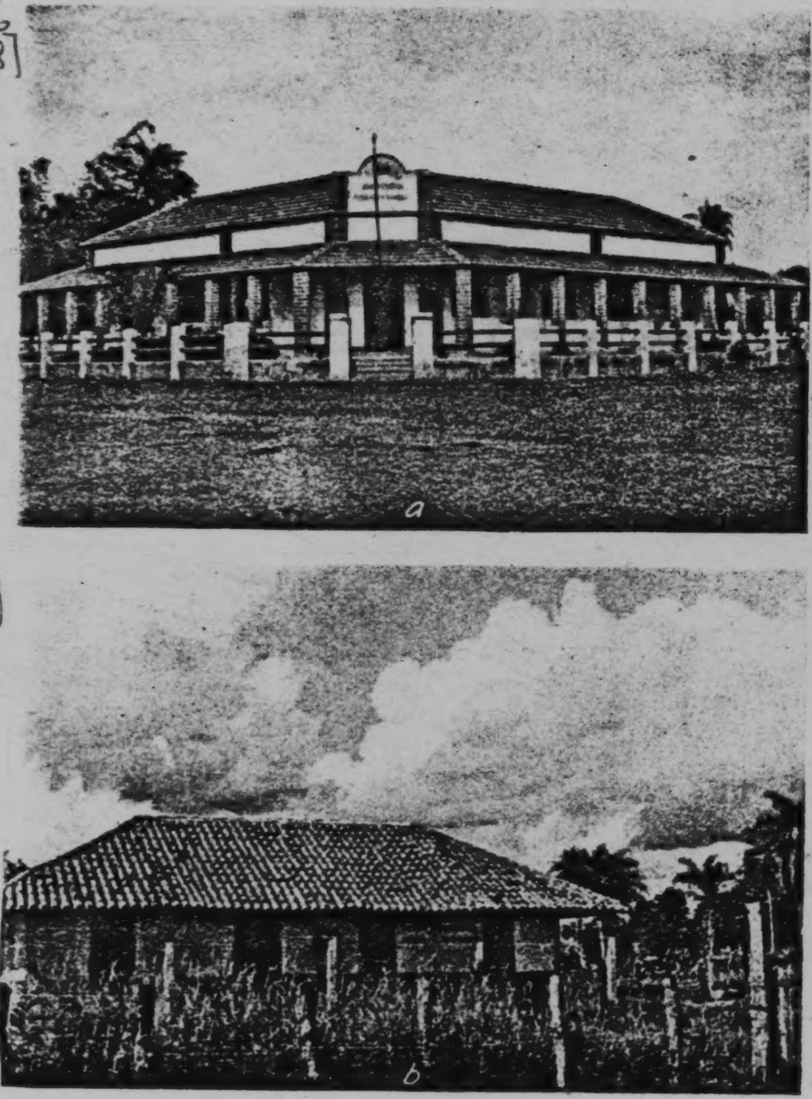

PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

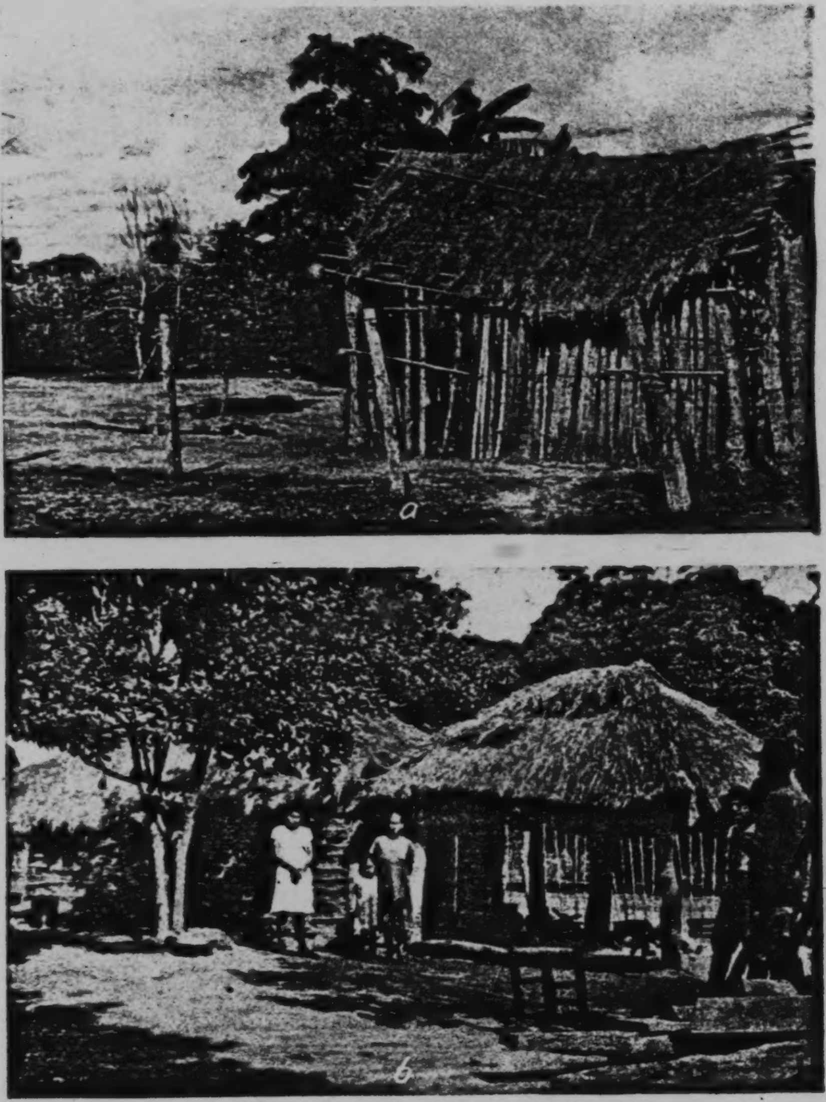

PLATE 4.—Terena house types. a, House with stake walls. b, House and cooking shed.

[End Plate 4]
[P. 76]

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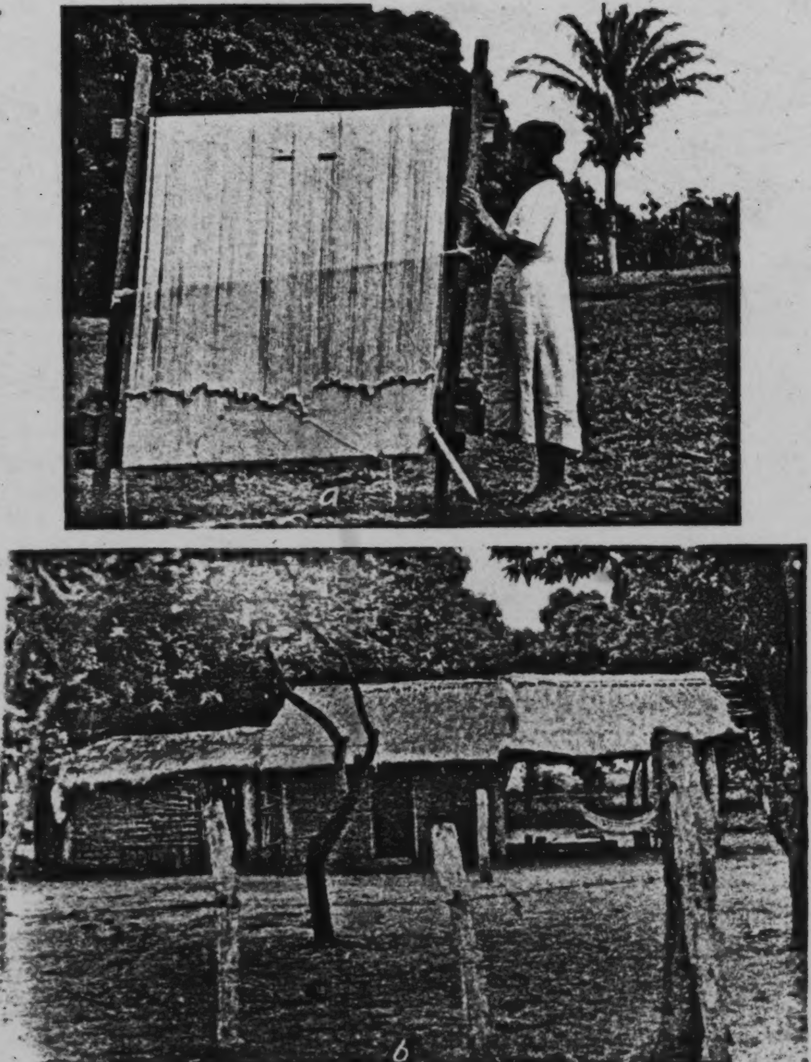

PLATE 5.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Woman with loom. b, Adobe house with adjoining sheds.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

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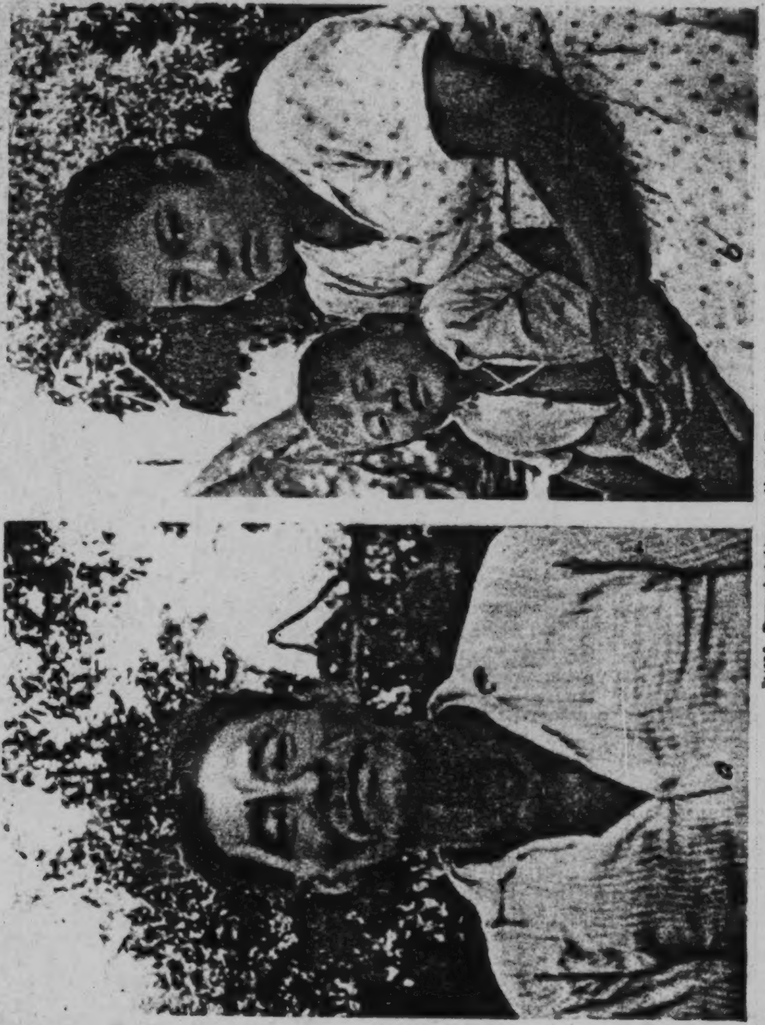

PLATE 6.—Terena physical types. a, Man. b, Woman and child.

[End Plate 6]

[p. 78]

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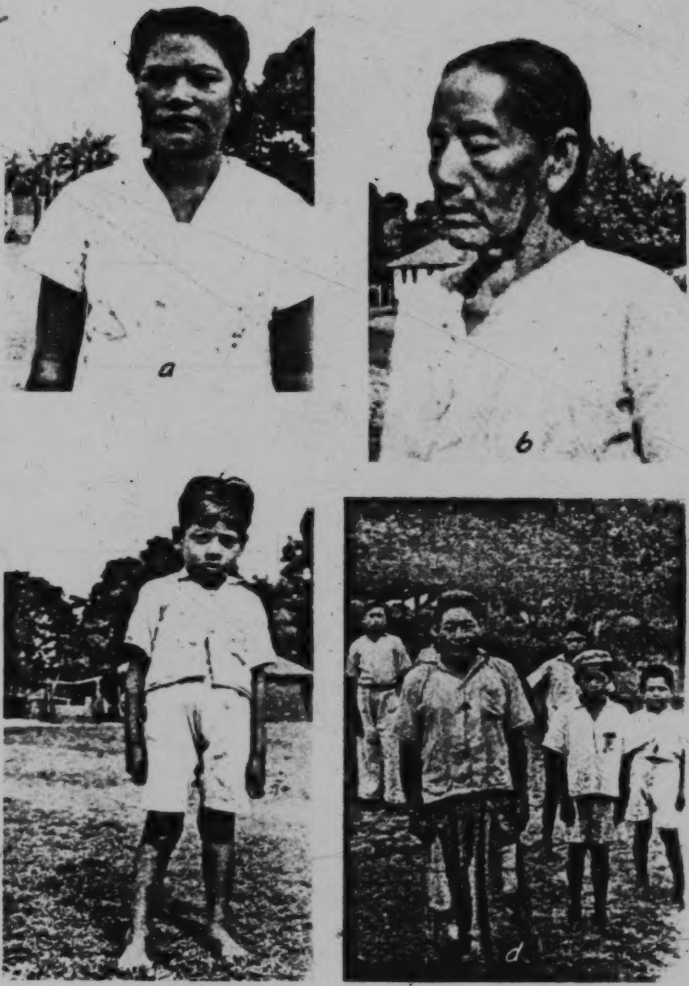

PLATE 7.—Terena physical types. a, Girl. b, Old woman. c, Young boy. d, Man and boy.

[End Plate 7]

[P. 79]

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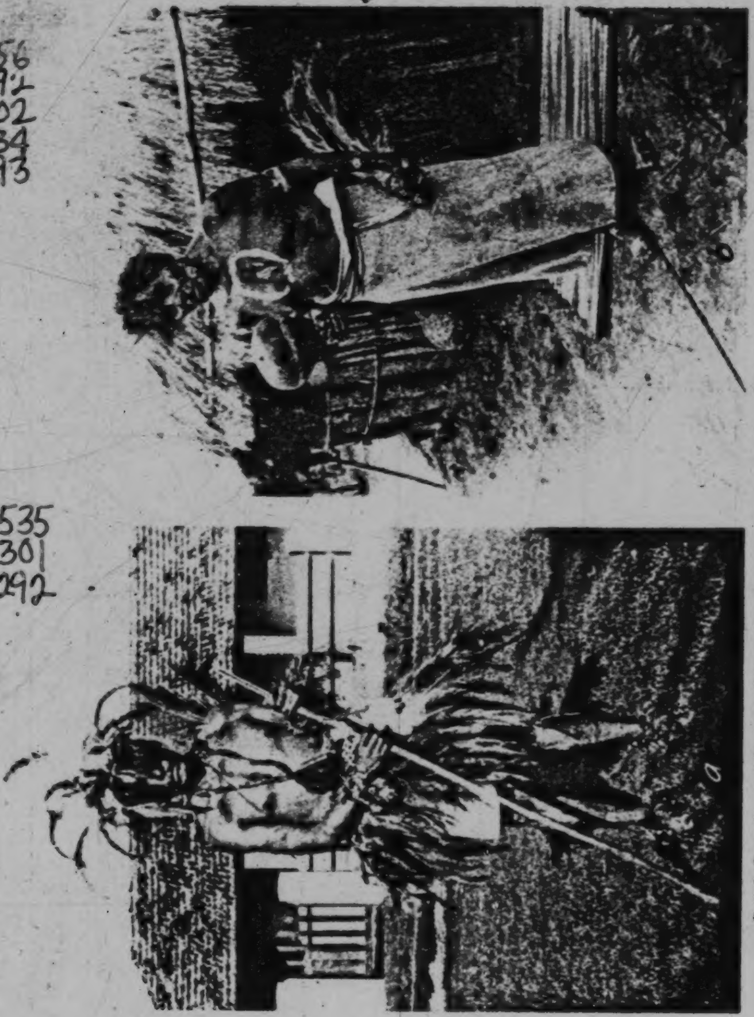

PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and shaman. a, "Bate-pau" dancer dressed in rhea feathers. b, Shaman with kali ñeaka (rattle) and ki'pale (rhea feather baton).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

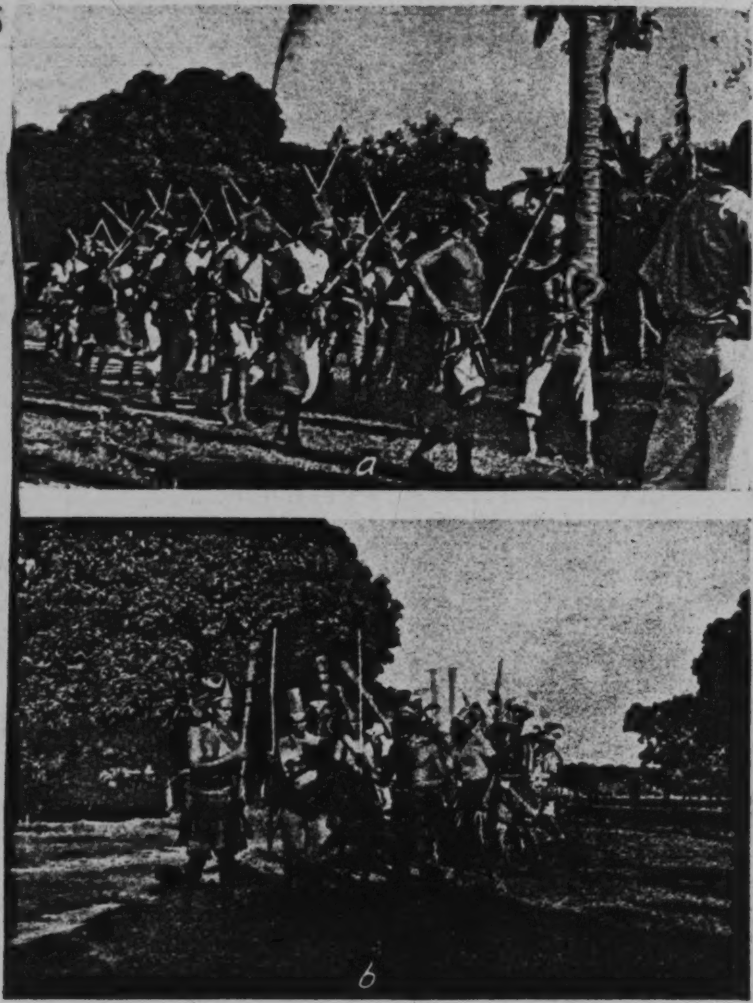

PLATE 9.—Terena dances. a, The "Bate-pau" dance. b, The "Bate-pau" dance.

[End Plate 9]

[P. 81]

756
755
342

796
177

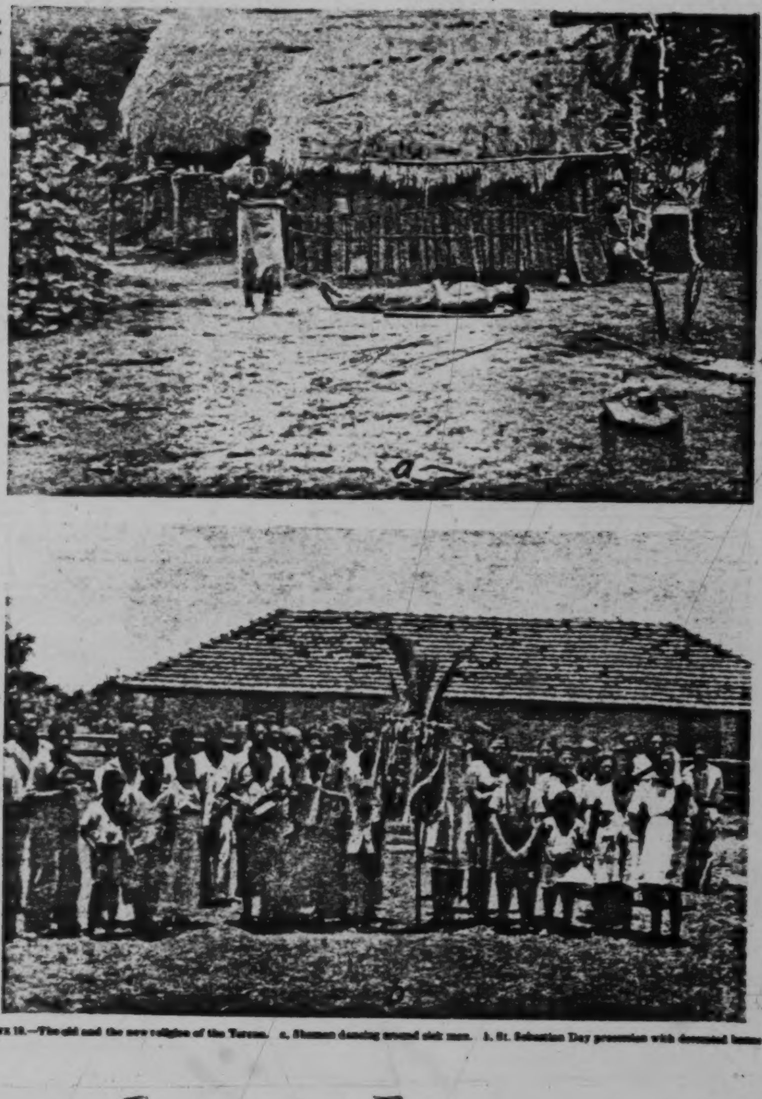

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shaman dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banne

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

526
292

541

PLATE 11.—Terena sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a horse race.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

2: Oberg

SK7 Guana-1-2
Terena

104

chupu--manioc
hianketi-soparo--long-eared yellow maize
huati-soparo--a white variety of maize
ilomei--digging stick made from the wood of the "palo santa"
imóheve--anklets
imotáki--bracelets
ipuhicoti-hiuka--birth
itishovoti--moiety council meetings
kali ita'aka--a small calabash which is a symbol of moiety chieftainship
kuati-soparo --a mixed-color ear of maize
nakóti--necklaces
nimake--a large bag made from yulu fibers
nóneovokúti--a central plaza around which Terena houses are built
oneu--the village
ovokúti--Terena house
repenóti--a sleeveless cotton shirt
shipa--maize cake
shiripá--a cotton loincloth

104

shumonó	name of a moiety meaning "wild people"
shuna'asheti	war chief; war class
soparo	maize (in general)
suati-chupu	bitter manioc
sukirikionó	a moiety name meaning "gentle people"
unati ashé	moiety chief
veri	a small bag made from yulu fibers